# Contents

Preface v
List of abbreviations used viii
Maps xv

## Part I General aspects

1 **The study of pidgin and creole languages** 3
*Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith*
1.1 Introduction 3
1.2 Historical linguistics and the definition of a creole 3
1.3 Distribution of pidgins and creoles 6
1.4 History of pidgin and creole studies 7
1.5 Theories of origin in creole studies and theoretical linguistics 8

2 **The socio-historical background of creoles** 15
*Jacques Arends*
2.1 Three types of creole 15
2.2 Colonial expansion and the slave trade 17
2.3 The plantation system 19
2.4 Demography 21

3 **Pidgins** 25
*Peter Bakker*
3.1 Introduction 25
3.2 Definition 26
3.3 Types of pidgins 27
3.4 Genesis and status 28
3.5 Linguistic features of pidgins 31
3.6 Some structural differences between pidgins and creoles 38
3.7 Conclusion 39

4 **Mixed languages and language intertwining** 41
*Peter Bakker and Pieter Muysken*
4.1 Introduction 41
4.2 Media Lengua (Quechua grammar, Spanish lexicon) 43
4.3 Michif (Cree grammar, French lexicon) 45
4.4 Ma'a (Bantu grammar, Cushitic lexicon) 46
4.5 Krõjo or Javindo (Low Javanese grammar, Dutch lexicon) 46
4.6 Intertwined Romani languages 47
4.7 Discussion 49
4.8 Social conditions 51

5 **Variation** 53
*Vincent de Rooij*
5.1 Introduction 53
5.2 The creole continuum 53
5.3 Conclusion 63

6 **Decolonization, language planning and education** 65
*René Appel and Ludo Verhoeven*
6.1 Introduction 65
6.2 Decolonization and language planning 65
6.3 Language planning and education 68
6.4 Creole languages in education: the case of Curaçao 70
6.5 Conclusions 73

7 **Creole literature** 75
*Lilian Adamson and Cefas van Rossem*
7.1 Introduction 75
7.2 Socio-cultural background 75
7.3 Oral literature 76
7.4 Written literature 81
7.5 Conclusion 83

**Part II Theories of genesis**

8 **Theories focusing on the European input** 87
*Hans den Besten, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith*
8.1 Introduction 87
8.2 Monogenetic theories 87
8.3 European dialect (partial) origin hypotheses 89
8.4 Theories concerning the influence of the Atlantic slave trade 91
8.5 Mixed European-source creoles 94
8.6 Foreigner talk and baby talk 95
8.7 Imperfect L2 learning 97

9 **Theories focusing on the non-European input** 99
*Jacques Arends, Silvia Kouwenberg and Norval Smith*
9.1 Substrate, superstrate, adstrate 99
9.2 Substrate in creole genesis 100
9.3 West African substrate languages 102
9.4 Evidence for substrate influence 103
9.5 Evidence for adstrate influence 109

10 **Gradualist and developmental hypotheses** 111
*Jacques Arends and Adrienne Bruyn*
10.1 Introduction 111
10.2 Sranan: a case of gradual creolization? 112
10.3 Creolization as language change 114
10.4 Grammaticalization in pidgins and creoles 116

11 **Universalist approaches** 121
*Pieter Muysken and Tonjes Veenstra*
11.1 Introduction 121
11.2 Types of universals 121
11.3 Semantic perspectives: transparency 124
11.4 Universals of second language learning 128
11.5 Universals of first language learning I: the bio-program 129
11.6 Universals of first language learning II: parameter theory 129
11.7 Conclusion 134

## Part III Sketches of individual languages

12 **Eskimo pidgin** 137
*Hein van der Voort*
12.1 Introduction 137
12.2 The Inuit, their language and its dialects 137
12.3 Inuit - Qallunaat contacts in the Atlantic 138
12.4 A short characterization of the West Greenlandic dialect 141
12.5 Greenlandic Pidgin: a sketch 142
12.6 Further issues 149

13 **Haitian** 153
*Pieter Muysken and Tonjes Veenstra*
13.1 Introduction: origin, present status, relation with other creoles 153
13.2 The study of Haitian 153
13.3 Phonology and lexicon 153
13.4 Grammar 154
13.5 Variation 163

14 **Saramaccan** 165
*Peter Bakker, Norval Smith and Tonjes Veenstra*
14.1 Introduction and text 165
14.2 Position within lexifier language creole group 168
14.3 Origin of the Saramaccan tribe and language 168
14.4 Type of creole 169
14.5 Phonology and phonetics 170

14.6 Lexical categories and morphology 171
14.7 Function words and syntax 175
14.8 Conclusion 178

**15 Shaba Swahili 179**
*Vincent de Rooij*
15.1 Introduction 179
15.2 The sociolinguistic situation on the Zairean Copperbelt 179
15.3 Genesis and development of Shaba Swahili 180
15.4 A structural sketch of Shaba Swahili 180
15.5 Conclusion 190

**16 Fa d'Ambu 191**
*Marike Post*
16.1 Introduction 191
16.2 History and current status 191
16.3 Phonology and phonetics 192
16.4 Lexicon and morphology 195
16.5 Syntax 196
16.6 Text 202

**17 Papiamento 205**
*Silvia Kouwenberg and Pieter Muysken*
17.1 Introduction 205
17.2 Sound system 207
17.3 Morphology and lexicon 208
17.4 Syntax 209

**18 Sranan 219**
*Lilian Adamson and Norval Smith*
18.1 Introduction and position within lexifier language creole group 219
18.2 History and current status 219
18.3 Phonology and phonetics 220
18.4 Morphology 221
18.5 An 'African' word category: ideophones 225
18.6 Syntax 226
18.7 Text 230

**19 Berbice Dutch 233**
*Silvia Kouwenberg*
19.1 Dutch-lexicon creole in Guyana 233
19.2 Berbice Dutch grammar 234
19.3 Text 241

# Part IV Grammatical features

**20 TMA particles and auxiliaries 247**
*Peter Bakker, Marike Post and Hein van der Voort*
20.1 Introduction 247
20.2 The TMA system in creoles 248
20.3 Genesis of the TMA system in creoles 248
20.4 The creole core TMA system 249
20.5 Negerhollands and categorical distinctions 253
20.6 Extensions: Modality 254
20.7 Interaction of auxiliary and TMA in Fa d'Ambu 255
20.8 Serial completives 257
20.9 Conclusion 258

**21 Noun phrases 259**
*Adrienne Bruyn*
21.1 Introduction: the loss of articles and plural morphemes 259
21.2 Number marking 259
21.3 Articles 263
21.4 Demonstratives 265
21.5 Complex NPs: the expression of possession 266

**22 Reflexives 271**
*Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith*
22.1 Introduction 271
22.2 Diversity among the creoles 272
22.3 The role of the lexifier languages 273
22.4 Grammaticalization 277
22.5 Substrate 279
22.6 Bare pronoun forms 282
22.7 Overlap in use 284
22.8 Conclusion 287

**23 Serial verbs 289**
*Pieter Muysken and Tonjes Veenstra*
23.1 Introduction 289
23.2 Overview and definition 289
23.3 Parametrization and typological correlates 291
23.4 Structure and order 293
23.5 Shared arguments 297
23.6 Lexical and semantic aspects 300

**24 Fronting 303**
*Tonjes Veenstra and Hans den Besten*
24.1 Introduction 303
24.2 Declarative context 304
24.3 Interrogative contexts 309
24.4 Relative clauses 314

**Part v Conclusions and annotated language list**

**25 Conclusions 319**
*Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith*
25.1 Introduction 319
25.2 Scenarios for creole genesis 319
25.3 Unity and diversity 323
25.4 The lexicon and multifunctionality 325
25.5 Phrasal compounding 326
25.6 Phonology 327
25.7 Language change and language contact 330

**26 An annotated list of creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages 331**
*Norval Smith*
26.1 Introduction 331
26.2 The list and the classification 334
26.3 The annotations 335
26.4 Index 337
26.5 The list 339
26.6 Postscript 374

Bibliography 375
Subject index 397
Language Index 403
Index of place names 407
Author Index 409